1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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EAR ORNAMENTS.—Formerly the ear lobes of both sexes were pierced for the reception of ear plugs (see under Deformation of body) and pendants were worn at festivals. Nowadays silver crescentic earrings (M.: *kyama-kula, kyama-dusa, kul-dusa, bapriñ;* S.: *tapana*) and finger rings (M.: *mat-diñka, mihta-diñka;* S.: *tinana*) are very common. These articles are either bought from foreign traders or from traveling Ladino goldsmiths.

HAIR.—The men cut their hair short, but occasionally the elder Miskito leave a lock of hair just back of the crown. About the middle of the nineteenth century the Sumu men wore their hair long and tied it in a queue (Bell, b: 158; Collinson, b: 149–150), but now they have it cut fairly short in a straight line just above the eyebrows and as far back as the temples. The women of both tribes cut their hair off just above the eyelashes in order to prevent it from hanging over the face, but on the sides and back it is allowed to hang down freely. Upon the death of a relative they cut it off short and lay it in the grave with the deceased, a practice which formerly was also current among the men at the death of their wives.

At the settlement of Cariay, which probably existed in Costa Rica and not on the Mosquito Coast, as many believe, the women wore their hair cut short in 1502. The men, on the other hand, had it long; the fringe was cut moderately short, while the remainder of the hair was allowed to grow long and was bound up with fillets round the head in braids and rolls.

Both sexes devote much attention to their hair and they anoint it frequently in order to render it softer and easier to handle. Their favorite hair oil, known by the Miskito name *batana*, is obtained from the seeds of the oil palm (*Elaeis melanococca*). The Sumu also extract the oil from the seeds of various other trees, as the saba (*Guarea caoba* or *Carapa guianensis*), the "eboe" (*Coumarouna oleifera*), the "yari" and the small huiscoyol palm (*Bactris horrida* Oerst.); they also buy *batana* from their neighbors. Nowadays these hair oils are mixed with foreign hair tonics, perfumes, and vaselines, but in former days the Indians added the aromatic rootstock or fruits of certain indigenous plants. Flowers and ribbons are also tied or stuck in the hair by the females.

A crude native comb was formerly made by tying together a number of small sticks which tapered to a point at each end. Now only foreign-made combs are seen. Among the Miskito the latter are known by the English word *kum*, whereas the Sumu have native names (T.: *bas-kus;* P., U.: *bas-kahna*). Exquemelin (Fr. ed.: II, 268–269) states that the Miskito wife used to comb her husband's hair every morning before the latter went out hunting and fishing.

DEPILATION.—Although the Indians take much pride in an abundant growth of hair on the head, they would formerly not allow any

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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342 Before starting with the construction of a house the Indians cut down all the bush and clear the ground around the site. All the big trees which are liable to endanger the house in case of storms are felled. 364 Refuse is thrown into the water; pigs, dogs, and vultures act to some extent as scavengers. Crude brooms are made from various low 412 shrubs or from the fan-shaped leaves of several species of *Acanthorhiza* palms.

342 TYPE OF HOUSES.—Both tribes construct rectangular dwellings (M.: *utla;* S.: *o, u*), which are generally rounded on the short sides in the shape of a semicircle; in recent years the regular oblong form has become more common. Among the Miskito of Honduras the elliptical and the circular type are also found.

BUILDING MATERIAL.—No remains of stone houses have been discovered in this area. The dwellings of these primitive tribes are built of perishable material. They consist of four hardwood posts (M.: *playa;* S.: *kal, rahni*) supporting a sharply sloping, well-thatched palm-leaf roof (M.: *bahna;* S.: *tun*). The eaves of the latter reach to within 4 feet from the ground, so that one has to stoop in order to get into the interior. In the primitive Sumu hut there were also one or more central posts (M.: *masa;* S.: *tun rahni*) which were generally elaborately carved. The posts are generally of ironwood (*Dialium* sp.), sapodilla (*Sapota zapotilla* Coville) or cortés (*Tecoma chrysantha* DC.). Several varieties of palms, as the cohune (*Attalea cohune*), skomphra, col de gallo or suita (*Calyptrogyne sarapiquensis*), and caña danta (*Geonoma* sp.) furnish the leaves for thatching. The latter work is made very carefully and a well-made roof lasts from 6 to 10 years without needing any repair. No nails are employed in the construction of the hut, the various parts being held together with strong lianas.

ATTIC.—Most houses are provided with a sort of cockloft, or rude attic, which is immediately under the roof. It is called *tint* by both tribes, perhaps after the English "tent." It is formed by laying split bamboo across the beams, about 7 feet from the ground. Ascent to it is made by means of a tree-ladder (M.: *mina-mañka, yaman-mañka;* S.: *kalana*), consisting of a tree trunk wherein notches have been cut. Food is stored in the attic; it is also used as a sleeping apartment.

354 FIREPLACE.—The fire is made on the leveled mud floor, which is often raised a little to avoid dampness. The hearth (M.: *pâûta-wihta;* T.: *kuh-nanañ;* P.: *koh-pani;* U.: *kuh-suruka*) is formed by three logs which are placed so as to form a "Y"; they do not quite touch each other, however, but there is a free space between them, where the fire is made. These three logs (M.: *pâûta yuñk;* S.: *kuh-karan, koh suru*) support the cooking vessels; as the projecting ends burn gradually away, these logs have to be pushed forward

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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CHESTS.—Wooden chests or trunks, known by their English names, are used to store clothing and valuables. They may be of foreign manufacture or made locally from the Spanish cedar (*Cedrela* sp.). 352

ILLUMINATION.—Pine-wood torches are used for illuminating purposes. In certain regions where the pitch pine (*Pinus tenuifolia* Benth.) is absent or scarce the Indians make rude candles by surrounding a cotton thread with beeswax or with the gum of certain trees, as the rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) or the locust tree (*Hymenaea courbaril* L.). Small baskets, filled with big tropical fireflies, are also used occasionally as lanterns by children. 354

VARIOUS.—The products of the plantation are generally thrown on the floor or put on the tables or in the attic. Little shelves are suspended from the rafters in order to keep cooked food, meat, or fruits free from the numerous creeping and crawling insects which infest the dwellings. 356

Under the roof are seen the various tools, the fishing and hunting implements; they are stuck in the thatch or held by rude racks. From the rafters depend bags of pine-wood soot, bottles with red pigment, and hair oils or small *pispis* gourds (*Lagenaria* [illegible] Ser.) containing shot.

DOMESTIC UTENSILS

FIREMAKING.—Fire was produced formerly by the "twirling" method. A notch was made in a piece of wild cane and a hard-wood stick placed in the cavity. This stick was held perpendicularly and twirled rapidly round and round until fire was produced. Cotton was used as tinder. A very curious method practiced by the Sumu or Paya of Rio Patuca has been described by the Franciscan missionary Fernando de Espino.[31] 372

Steel and flint were introduced in early days for kindling fire, but have now been replaced practically everywhere by matches of foreign manufacture. [77]

FIRE FANS.—In order to accelerate the flame a dozen feathers from large birds, generally the guan (*Penelope cristata*) are tied together in the shape of a fan (M.: *kusu-taya;* S.: *uhlawa*).

TONGS.—Among the Miskito of Pearl Lagoon bamboo tongs or tweezers may occasionally be seen, to pull roasted plantains, cassava 412

[31] Ha criado Dios en lo mas retirado de la montaña un bejuco muy largo, sin, nudos, a manera de ramas de mimbre; cogen esta y cortanla en trozos pequeños de a palmo; pónenlas al humo, y en estando bien secas, cuando han menester fuego, cogen una, y con las dos palmas de las manos la estrujan como al molinillo para hacer chocolate, y cuando ellos ven que está de cierto temple, soplan una punta o extremidad y por la otra parte sale fuego, y se enciende como mecha de escopeta, porque el en si es estoposo por de dentro. De otro modo sacan fuego, que es el comun de los indios, estregando un palo con otro (Serrano y Sanz: 367–368)

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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or other food out of the hot ashes. This tool has also been observed among the Ulwa of Rio Escondido (Wickham, c: 200) and it is very common among the Rama and the Guatuso. The two last-named tribes, however, make these tongs from a small species of palm, the "caña danta" or "ahtak," which they call, like the tool itself, by the names *kiskis* (Rama) and *kaskas* (Guatuso).[22]

MORTARS.—Large wooden mortars (M.: *unu, no*) are found among the Miskito to pound grains and fruits with the aid of a hard wooden pestle (M.: *unu mihta*). The latter is generally single headed and tapers gradually toward the handle end; the double-headed type, which is practically cylinder shaped, is also found occasionally. This mortar has a wide distribution in South America, Africa and Oceania. It was found among the Miskito toward the end of the seventeenth century and is mentioned in those days side by side with the metate (M. W.: 307, 308).

METATES.—The Sumu do not know the wooden mortar, but they employ the metate or mealing stone (M.: *walpa-akbaya;* T., P.: *ki-watak;* U.: *ki-tiknaka*) for grinding maize and cacao and for pounding fruits and berries. The common metate, which may be found in almost every household, is a flat-topped, natural river bowlder, with a rounded waterworn pebble serving as muller or "mano" (M.: *walpa mihta;* S.: *ki mak*).

COOKING VESSELS.—Light tripod iron pots (M.: *dikwa;* S.: *suba, yasama suba*) are now found in every household, and have replaced the earthen vessels (M.: *sumi;* S.: *suba, sau suba*) for cooking purposes. In order to remove the hot pot from the fire the Indians use short wooden sticks with a hook at one extremity, which they put round the ears of the pot; it is known by the following names: M.: *tiñkrus, piñkrus;* T.: *iskrusta;* P.: *pan-alni;* U.: *pan-alka.*

WATER CONTAINERS.—Large calabashes with a small round hole cut in the apex, just large enough to insert a finger, are the common water canteens (M.: *kahmuntara;* T., P.: *sulun;* U.: *taman*). This is the "goat" of the Creoles. Sometimes a corncob is inserted in the opening as a stopper.

Segments of the large species of bamboo are also used to haul water in certain regions. They are made from a section of bamboo stem, so that a nodal septum serves as bottom, while the stem is cut off immediately in front of the next occurring nodal septum.

Fermented beverages are stored in large earthen vessels (M.: *sumi;* S.: *suba, sau suba*); wooden casks of foreign manufacture and homemade troughs are also employed for this purpose.

[22] The Cuna and Chocó Indians of Panama use a similar tool consisting also of a double-bent sliver from the stem of a small palm, while the Ona and Yamana of Tierra del Fuego use a split tree branch for pincers. (Vide E. Nordenskiöld, Comparative Ethnographical Studies, vol. 8, Göteborg, 1930, pp. 65–67.)

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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DISHES.—Calabashes (M.: *kahmi;* S.: *sutak*) take the place of plates, cups and glasses in the Indian houses; they are made from the fruit of the calabash tree, which is cut in two equal halves, and the soft watery pulp with the seeds removed. The thin, hard, woody shell is not fragile and lasts a long time. 415

By piercing such a calabash with small holes a strainer or collander (M.: *lili;* T., P.: *lilihna;* U.: *dilana*) is obtained; this is the "chachi" of the Creoles.

Large cups without handles, and basins are bought in the local shops; they are known by the name *mak*.

Square, round, or oval-shaped wooden bowls are made by the Indians of mahogany or other woods; they are known by their English names. These bowls are thick and clumsy and shaped like shallow basins; occasionally they are provided with very short, stout legs.

VARIOUS KITCHEN UTENSILS.—Flat withe baskets (M.: *usnuñ, uslun;* S.: *uslun, wah-taina, sidan*), hanging under the roof in the smoke of the fire contain large wooden spoons (M.: *kustara*, from the Spanish "cuchara"; S.: *pan-yamna*), called "pat sticks" by the Creoles, small single-headed wooden pestles or wabul sticks (M.: *tuskaya;* T., P.: *pan-tirina;* U.: *pan-ruknaka*), cacao stirring sticks or "swizzle sticks" (M.: *purbaya;* S.: *pan-korona, pan-poronaka*). These various utensils are made from Spanish cedar, mahogany, sapodilla, or rosewood.

Iron graters are seen occasionally. The Sumu have a native name (*pān-alna*) for this implement, while the Miskito call it by its English name.

The rough leaves of a small tree (*Curatella americana* L.) and of a vine (*Davilla kunthii* St. Hil.) are employed instead of sandpaper for polishing purposes. Both these plants belong to the Dilleniaceae and are called "raspa-guacal," "hoja-chigüe" or "chumico" by the Ladinos; among the Miskito, Sumu, and Creoles they are known by the name *yahal*. 824 356

TOOLS

Before the discovery of America these Indians had few utensils and implements of stone; such articles were chiefly of wood, clay, shell, bone, etc. It would be nearer the truth to say that the Miskito and Sumu were living in the wood age instead of the stone age. Stone objects are, of course, the ones which have been preserved mostly. Fish teeth, snail and tortoise shells, quartz, flint, pebbles, and the like were used as scraping implements. Knives of bamboo are still used to sever the navel string of newborn babies. 412

MACHETE.—The machete (M., T., P.: *ispara*, from the Spanish "espada"; U.: *masel*), a heavy cutlasslike knife of about 2 feet in length, is the vade mecum of these Indians. It is their faithful

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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companion at work and on voyage, and the main tool in house, garden, field, and bush. The Indian uses it to dig postholes for his house, to cut down small trees, shrubs, lianas, grass, or weeds. With the machete he cuts down the underbrush when making a plantation and clears the latter from time to time of weeds and young bush. With the machete he also defends himself against wild animals, snakes, and the like, and, if necessary, against his own kind, which is often more dangerous than the wild beasts of the forest.

Formerly all the machetes used on the Mosquito Coast were imported from England, but in later years they were brought from the United States and from Germany.

AXES.—The Indians are very good at plying the ax (M.: *asa*, from the Spanish "hacha"; S.: *ki*, *kidak*), as many of them have been working at the mahogany camps. The export of this valuable wood has been going on with various long interruptions for over two centuries. Even the women handle the ax fairly well, and cut up small tree stems to be used as firewood. The rectangular-shaped so-called American felling axes or Canada wedge axes are preferred by these Indians; in shape they resemble somewhat the *tuba* fish, and for that reason the Miskito call them *tub'asa*.

STONE AXES.—Single or double bladed stone axes or celts (M.: *alwani mahbra, imyula mahbra;* S.: *alwana suma*, lit.: "thunder egg" or "lightning egg") have been unearthed in various parts of the country. They are grooved or ungrooved, and were firmly fixed in the thick part of a stone-cut wooden handle, or the handle was merely tied firmly to the ax with the aid of a withe passing around the groove. Some of these celts were provided with a short handle cut of the same solid rock. Dampier (I, 85) mentions some good grooved axes among the Indians of Rio Escondido (Kukra-Sumu), which were "flat and sharp at both ends," and were 10 inches long, 4 inches broad, and 3 inches thick in the middle.

Two simple stone axes from the Mosquito Coast have been depicted by Bovallius (II, 299, figs. 81, 82). Three fine monolithic axes from the Bluefields region have been described and illustrated by Saville (b: 34–36, fig. 15). The blade of these axes is of a form foreign to Central America, resembling certain axes from the Lesser Antilles and northern South America. In these three specimens the rounded handle, which has a length of 12 to 12½ inches, is slightly curved. They are respectively in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (a), the Peabody Museum of Harvard University (b), and the United States National Museum (c). The first one of them (a) was acquired in 1924 in Nicaragua by Mr. D. E. Harrower. The blade is comparatively longer than in the other axes of this type and the handle is elaborately finished, being decorated with three series of longitudinal grooves. The second ax (b) is carved from a

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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heavy, compact, brownish-green stone with decorations somewhat similar to the preceding one, but the handle has, besides, three transverse oval decorations over the section adjacent to the blade. The third specimen was collected by Mr. J. O. Thomas of Bluefields. It is plain and made of indurated volcanic tufa. The two last-mentioned axes (b and c) have already been described and pictured in a previous publication by Saville (a: 10–11, pl. v, Nos. 5 and 4). Another beautiful ax, perhaps of the same type, with blade and handle carved of one piece of heavy, compact, light-colored rock, was unearthed at Bluefields in 1849 and is now in the Museum of the Moravian Mission at Herrnhut in Saxony.[2]

A beautifully shaped double-bladed stone ax was obtained by Boyle in 1866 on the upper Rio Escondido and pictured by him (b: II, 144, fig. 1); it is now in the British Museum. It is apparently of volcanic stone and is 17¾ inches long and 12¼ inches wide across the blades. The end of the flat handle is perforated. The illustration has been copied by Bancroft (IV, 59, fig. 3) and by Joyce (18, pl. I, fig. 1). Saville (a: 11–12, pl. VI, fig. 1) describes and illustrates this ax together with two other double-bladed specimens from the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, which are fashioned from an igneous rock, possibly diorite. These two were obtained from a Miskito chief by Mr. J. O. Thomas of Bluefields and are now in the United States National Museum. The largest one of them (Saville, a: 12, pl. VI, fig. 5) is 10¾ inches long and 6¼ inches across the blades; the handle is rounded and has a conical end. The other specimen (pl. VI, fig. 2) is only 8½ inches in length and 7¾ inches wide across the blades. Like that illustrated by Boyle, it is perforated through the end of the flat handle. Other stone axes from the Mosquito Coast are in the collection of Doctor Heuhaus in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (Lehmann, b: 715).

The modern Indians do not know that these stone axes are artificial and that they are the work of their forefathers. They believe them to be "thunder-bolts," as do also the Creoles and Negroes; the same idea is also entertained by the Ladinos, who call these celts "piedra de raya." It is very probable that these antique axes were also used as defensive weapons in former days, and perhaps also for ceremonial uses.

ADZES.—Adzes are now very common and are used for the making of canoes and other objects of wood; they are used in similar manner as those of our joiners and carpenters. This tool is probably of post-Columbian origin, although the Sumu have a native name (*parin*) for it; the Miskito call it *ats* from the English name. Stone adzes have never been found on the Mosquito Coast, although they are frequently

[2] Cf. Frederick Starr in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leiden, vol. v, 1892, pp. 58–59.

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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412 met with in certain parts of South America. The ordinary stone ax may also have been utilized as an adze by merely shifting the handle fixation from a vertical to a horizontal plane.

HOE.—In many huts a hoe can be found nowadays; it is used on the fields and in clearing away the grass and weeds growing in front of the dwellings. The hoe is of recent introduction and is known by its English name (*u*).

KNIFE.—Large knives (M.: *skiro*, *kisuro*, from the Spanish "cuchillo"; S.: *kohbil*) now form part of every household.

252 SUGAR MILL.—A primitive sugar mill (M.: *trañko;* T., P.: *tisnak tãihnin;* U.: *tisnak panka*) is employed by these Indians to squeeze the juice out of sugarcane. A stout post is buried partly in the ground, so that it will reach about 3 or 4 feet above the surface. Close to its upper extremity a wooden slab is mortised in and wedged tight. Just above this slab, which looks like a small platform, there is a hole in the post, where a stout bar (M.: *mihta;* S.: *tiñ*) fits loosely. One of the women lays a piece of cane on this "platform," her husband inserts the pole in the hole and presses downward, crushing the cane, whereupon the juice flows into a receptacle placed on the ground. The woman slips the cane forward until every part of it is crushed, and finally twists it like a rope to wring out all the juice.

252 171 This mill is common in the regions bordering on the Caribbean Sea. Several mills of this type, found in South America and on the Isthmus of Panama, have been figured by Nordenskiöld.[34] It is well known that sugarcane was introduced into the New World by the Spaniards; still this type of mill is never met with among the whites. On the other hand, the negroes of eastern Central America and the Bush negroes of Guiana use it commonly, more so than the Indians themselves. According to the prominent African specialists Seligman and Lindblom, sugar mills of this type are not met with in the Dark Continent. Neither are they known from Melanesia. Nordenskiöld[35] believes, therefore, that this implement has been invented by American Indians in post-Columbian days, when they had become acquainted with sugarcane. In view of the fact that this sugar mill is more common among the negroes than among the Indians, I am inclined to believe that it is a post-Columbian invention made in America (probably in the West Indies) by negro slaves, who were largely employed on the sugar estates. Even to this day it is not met with among the Sumu of the interior, who crush the canes in primitive wooden roller mills turned by handspikes (cf. Wickham, b: 216; c: 206).

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[34] Comparative Ethnographical Studies, vol. VIII, Göteborg, 1930, pp. 80–84, figs. 39–43.

[35] Ubi supra, p. 83.

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
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Both the *Paya* and the *Northern Sumo* occasionally use elaborately carved metates and well-made manos obtained at ancient ruins. The *Mosquito* made large wooden mortars and single-ended or, more rarely, double-ended pestles.

Tools used for working wood and for fashioning many miscellaneous articles were: Scrapers made of fish teeth, turtle shells, or stone and knives made of split bamboo. Three-legged wooden stools were formerly richly carved, often having a bird or animal head. Spoons, ladles, cradles, and the like are also made of wood. Gourds are often engraved with simple geometrical designs (pl. 36, *bottom*).

Weapons.—*Mosquito, Sumo,* and *Jicaque* bows are 4 to 5 feet (1.3 to 1.6 m.) long, *Paya* specimens 6 feet (2 m.) long. They taper toward the ends and are rectangular in cross section. Killing arrows have a cane shaft and palm-wood foreshaft. Points of flint, obsidian, turtle shell, fishbone, and shark and alligator teeth were being replaced by iron ones as early as 1678 (Exquemelin, 1678). Arrows are not feathered. According to Exquemelin, the arrows used about the Laguna de Bluefields (*Kukra*) were 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.6 m.) long with a flint tip and a wooden hook (possibly some type of barb?). Some arrows were weighted with pebbles. Stunning arrows have blunt knobs made of hard wood or beeswax.

The *Ulva* and *Paya* make blowguns, possibly only toys, from a reed 18 inches (45 cm.) long. These shoot wax pellets. The blowgun is, even among Hispanicized *Jicaque,* an effective weapon. It is bored from a branch of a certain tree, and clay pellets are carefully made by means of a gage (Von Hagen, 1943, pp. 50–52). The *Mosquito* and *Sumo* probably used the blowgun, but present information is not precise.

Arrow poison has been reported from some *Mosquito* tribes. Bancroft says that this was made from the juice of *Hippomane mancinella.* Conzemius did not observe this tree in the territory but mentions the possibility that the secretions from a frog (*Dendrobates tinctorius*) may have been used. The former poison is used by the *Carib,* and both types are used by the *Cuna* and *Choco.*

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known of the aboriginal organization of these tribes. Both chiefs and shamans had great power. Local governments now control the villages, but during the Conquest these tribes were organized for war in various ways. Chiefs were elected by the elderly men and their power was supreme. The office was not hereditary, but among the *Mosquito* a nephew or son-in-law of a chief might succeed him. The whole *Mosquito* tribe, under British guidance, was united and ruled by a "king" who carried as insignia a staff and a gold or silver breastplate.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
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TOOLS

Before the conquest the Miskito had very few tools and as has been pointed out by Conzemius[1] these Indians were living in a wood age rather than a stone age. Today the common tools in use are noted in the order of their importance. The machete *(ispara)*, a heavy knife varying from one to two feet in length is the most commonly used tool. It can be used for almost any purpose from clearing bush to ligging postholes. It can also be used as a weapon of defense as well as for cutting and slicing food. Second to the machete is the ax *(asa)* which is used for chopping trees and preparing timber. These axes are made of metal and stone *(alwani mahbra)*. Adzes *(ats)* are today in common use for the making of boats and other objects of wood. With the exception of the stone ax both the machete and the adze are of post Colombian origin.[1] Hoes have been introduced in the last century and these are used primarily for clearing weeds. A variety of knives *(skiro, kisuro)* are seen in all households and used not only to cut with for eating purposes as well.

DIVISION OF WORK

The husband prepares the patch of forest for the plantation. He cuts down the trees and clears the ground by fire. However, the major part of planting, weeding, and taking in the crop is left to the wife. The manufacture of hunting and fishing implements is the man's job. Fishing, however, is carried out by both men and women. The building of canoes is the man's work although women sometimes assist him in this arduous work. Men will cut trees for firewood but the women have to fetch the lengths of timber cut by the men.

It is customary for women to carry heavy loads but the men occasionally do. Heavy loads are placed on the back by the use of a carrying strap (*bombador*). Many of the women carry loads on their heads.

All the domestic industries such as weaving, spinning, cooking, etc., are female occupations. Tailoring, however, is shared by both the men and the women. The barbecuing of the chase is the only cooking men indulge in.

FUNCTIONAL ENTERPRISE

Interchange of commodities is commonly effected by barter but today there is an ever increasing use of currency (córdoba). Trading is carried out with traders and the Indians in many instances exchange